241 "The jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

● 423 The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Mundrucú. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Mundurucú, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 50 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Mundurucú society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

241 476 Mundurucú horticulture involved a high degree of cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were aban-
428 doned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as
[423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The
[582] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage
[586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these
616 patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan
[835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasion-
[587] ally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices.
[582] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú in-
[773] formants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [592] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *awyokokakat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[5] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[5] Wagley, 1953, p. 82.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the proximity [361] of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Munduruc̀u personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Munduruc̀u are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Munduruc̀u derive no profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[8] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[8] Murdock, 1949, pp. 218-219.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor
*241 421 [421] [476] exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases, which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically [181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 423 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

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12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

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harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

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The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

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*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [423] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

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13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Munduruků, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Munduruků of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Munduruků was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

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241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Munduruků family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Munduruků? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Munduruků have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 179 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Munduruků the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

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*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Munduruků. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

● 423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Munduruků gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15)[134] It is for this reason that the Indian

3 A [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--Analyst]